PEACE MARCH IN ITALY: Elisabeth Mann Borgese

THE NATION

OCTOBER 21, 1961 . . 25c

REBELLION IN THE FACTORY

The Uneasy Auto Truce

B. J. Widick

COPS AS ROBBERS

Roscoe Fleming

THAW ON DISARMAMENT

Frederick Kuh

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LETTERS

Inverted Racism?

Dear Sirs: I suppose it is inevitable for even so illustrious a magazine as *The Nation* — with whose views I usually find myself so thoroughly in agreement — not to have at least one blind spot; but it is impossible to remain silent when confronted with your recent editorial on Berlin ["Profile in Non-Courage," September 30], viz.: "No one, other than the nationalistic Germans and the Dulles partisans, wants to see Germany unified. Not the Russians, not the Poles, not the Czechs, not the French, British, Americans and not all the West Germans either." It is one thing to be against Adenauer, against the German *revanchists,* against the Dulles policy and for negotiation on Berlin, as the present writer is; it is quite another to equate these stands with a denial of the right for the Germans, as for all peoples, to want self-determination and, in the specific historical case, unity.

The division of Germany, seen from a humanist and progressive viewpoint, was a crime to begin with, and was the cause of the very "German problem" we are now faced with. To ascribe this desire for unity merely to some nationalistic Germans means to disregard that the vast majority of all Germans, both East and West, want unity (however unrealizable they may consider it to be at present); that this desire is justified; and that, in any case, it is not up to other peoples — the Americans, Poles, Czechs and Russians included — to either grant or withhold what, to start with, is not their business. Further, to equate this German desire for unity with the "Dulles partisans" is to create a reactionary and false amalgam, not in keeping with historical reality.

To put it undiplomatically, the view expressed in the editorial leads to an imperialist and racist position not in keeping with the values *The Nation* stands for. The existence of such a view is retroactively due to the failure of American liberals and left-wingers at the end of the war to think through the question of German unity to a progressive and humane conclusion. In supporting the criminal policy of unconditional surrender and dismemberment of Germany, these liberals are now automatically led to their present erroneous position on the question of German unity. To support the right of all nations to self-determination (and hence unity, if they so desire) and to withhold this right from one nation is a form of inverted racism repugnant to the present writer, a Jewish refugee from Nazi racism, now living in America.

New York City — AMOS VOGEL

To *Nation* Puzzle Fans

The publication of Fred J. Cook's special article, "JUGGERNAUT: The Warfare State" will force us to omit from next week's issue Frank W. Lewis' regular weekly crossword puzzle. Considering the importance of Mr. Cook's article, we are certain that our puzzle fans will accept with good grace the sacrifice required of them. — EDITORS

The Nation *would agree that the present division of Germany — within its present borders — is unfortunate; but the larger question remains: when, at what price, under what circumstances, subject to what conditions, is unification likely or desirable?*—EDITORS.

Books for Nigeria

Dear Sirs: The University of Buffalo and the Akron (N.Y.) Junior Chamber of Commerce have recently completed a most successful project called "Books for Nigeria." The drive began at the University where Samson Obi, a Nigerian citizen, was studying for his master's degree in education. Shortly before Christmas, 1960, he appealed to his fellow students to give him a few old books to take back with him. A flood of college texts resulted.

We would like to ask your readers to aid this worthy endeavor by shipping Mr. Obi a book for his library. One good reference book or literature classic from each of your readers would really make this drive complete. Here is the address:

Mr. Samson O. Obi
Merchants of Light School
Oba via Onitsha
Nigeria, West Africa

Akron, N.Y. — JAMES WEBSTER

Distrust of Leaders

Dear Sirs: I wish to thank Dr. David Brown for his letter, "Madmanship," in the September 2 issue, in which he calls attention to the fact that a few world leaders can send millions of men into the ghastly business of mass slaughter of their fellow humans.

I once heard Nobel Prize-winner Lord Boyd Orr, say, "I trust no government, not even my own." Britain's World War I Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, is reported to have said: "Wars are precipitated from motives which statesmen responsible for them dare not publicly avow. Public discussion and debate would drag these motives into the open where they would wither and die under the scorn of humanity."

That people are deceived by national leaders goes without saying. How to have the masses of humans everywhere understand that they are being duped seems to be the problem. Any suggestions? — STEWART GRAVES

Rice, Minn.

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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The President and the People

According to recent polls, President Kennedy's popularity stands much higher than when he won the election. Political popularity is always a perishable product. In the present instance it may be especially evanescent for two reasons: the President has not earned it by any conspicuous success in either the domestic or the foreign field, and the right-wing Republican opposition is prepared to use any means — foul ones lie most ready to their hands — to bring him down. The people esteem him for essentially sentimental reasons. Nevertheless, he is perhaps in the most favorable position he will ever achieve to do for the country, and in his own political interest, what in any event cannot be long delayed.

The President must deal with the realities of the German situation clearly, positively and courageously. He must convey these realities to the people, who will understand them perfectly well. The ordinary American does not intend to be pushed around by anyone, but neither does he lust to die for Berlin, and only half of Berlin at that. Mr. Kennedy's task is to explain to the American people that these are not the alternatives, that a negotiated settlement is in the offing, that neither side will be entirely happy with the terms, but that a bearable and honorable compromise is within reach. To accomplish his task, he must exorcise the bogy of appeasement, which derives its substance from the accumulated illusions of brinkmanship, renewed German ascendancy in Europe, and various Administration emergency measures — including the call-up — which have added several dimensions to the Berlin crisis.

Since July 26, when the President addressed the country on the Berlin situation, he and his advisers have had some second thoughts which ought now to be revealed (although not, of course, in the form of a retraction or reversal: the political necessities have to be taken into account). The rhetoric has been bold. Troops have been called up at a cost of about $3.5 billion for what is regarded in the Army as a "Cook's tour." The President telephoned his congratulations to Mayor Brandt and agreed that the wall dividing the two Berlins must come down. Now the President is in a position to negotiate a settlement which may actually bring down the wall and reunite the two Berlins, instead of demolishing not only the wall, but most of Europe, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The outlines of the settlement are clear. East Germany must be recognized, in fact if not in law. There are two Germanys and two Germanys will remain in the foreseeable future; but the settlement must not preclude reunification in that future which is not foreseeable. The West's current rights in Berlin must be spelled out by the East Germans in a document to be signed by the two Germanys or, if that is too bitter a pill for West Germany to swallow, these provisions can be incorporated in the USSR-East German peace treaty, either in the body or in a codicil ratified by the Great Powers. Other possibilities are joint guarantees for the demilitarization of Central Europe and a beginning of general disarmament in that area. Actually, when the German impasse is examined with an open mind, it contains these and other elements of a *modus vivendi*: it is only the closed mind that finds it hopeless.

The President and the Republicans

In this vale of tears every choice involves a renunciation, and if the President wants peace and the love of the vast majority of his countrymen, he must be prepared to incur the hatred of the John Birch crowd, the philippics of Republican National Chairman William

Another Fred J. Cook "Special"

Next week *The Nation* will devote a 64-page issue to another remarkable "special" by the author of "The FBI," "The Shame of New York" and, more recently, "The CIA."

The coming feature is called "JUGGERNAUT: The Warfare State."

If precedent is any guide, "JUGGERNAUT" will be sold out on newsstands quickly. If you are not a *Nation* subscriber, place your order with your newsdealer *now*. And if you are a subscriber, and want extra copies, you may place your order directly with *The Nation*. Price: 50c the copy.

—EDITORS.

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E. Miller, and the unkind cuts of General Eisenhower. None of these gentlemen, not even General Eisenhower (who should be mindful of the fact that most of President Kennedy's troubles originated in the years preceding January 20, 1961), will have a good word for any settlement of the Berlin-German crisis which the Administration may negotiate, particularly if it enhances Mr. Kennedy's popularity and thereby improves the chance of Democratic success at the polls in 1962. Regardless of the terms of the settlement, they will stigmatize it as "appeasement" and beat the President over the head with it. The only way in which he can avoid their blows is to join them.

GOP National Chairman Miller's attacks on Mr. Kennedy faithfully follow a Republican tradition as old as bipartisanship itself. When the Republicans are in power, they glower at the least Democratic deviation from foreign policy as laid down by the Republicans. When the Democrats are in power, the Republicans feel free to castigate them by hindsight for their failures and, in anticipation, even for their possible successes. "In politics," Mr. Miller commented to Robert J. Donovan of the New York *Herald Tribune*, "you jab where you can." No nonsense here about politics not extending beyond the water's edge. Mr. Miller is sharpening his knife preparatory to doing a job on the President if Red China is admitted to the United Nations, or even if a resolution for admission draws any considerable amount of support.

On the Soviet Union, Mr. Miller graciously approves of the President's talking to the unspeakable Russians, but the formula is to be Mr. Miller's, not the President's. Mr. Miller directs the President to "stand firm," otherwise he will convict himself as "confused, vacillating and not firm enough in [his] dealings with the Kremlin." "Concessions" are ruled out in advance. "People are concerned that something is going on that will amount to concessions in Berlin," Mr. Miller warns. "People don't like this." The President is warned to "shut up" Chester Bowles, Senator Fulbright, Senator Mansfield and Adlai Stevenson.

Already Mr. Miller is dispatching teams of so-called "Paul Reveres" — GOP Congressmen operating, *troika*-style, in panels of three — out across the country to "alert" the people to the inadequacies of the Administration's foreign policy. In the first of these rallies, staged in Los Angeles in behalf of Representative John Rousselot, member of the John Birch Society, a *troika* consisting of Representatives Derounian, Michel and Frelinghuysen charged that the President "is talking like Churchill but acting like Chamberlain."

All in all, Mr. Kennedy seems to have a better chance to make a reasonable deal with the Russians than with the Republicans under the Miller-Goldwater aegis. Given this ugly foretaste of things to come, he should not hesitate to take his case to the people — and the sooner the better.

Infection from Above

In modern society, protection against crime is not a do-it-yourself job for the ordinary citizen. He depends on the police. But in various cities around the country the citizen seems to be in more danger from criminals on the police force than from ordinary criminals. No sooner is one scandal ostensibly cleaned up, as in Chicago, where the police were shown to be responsible for a considerable proportion of the city's burglaries, than another breaks out. In Memphis, a still incomplete probe has led to burglary charges against six policemen. In Pensacola, Florida, a total of twenty-three police officers and two deputy sheriffs were allegedly involved in tow-car and gambling rackets. In Des Moines and Burlington, Iowa, there have been police shake-ups on charges of larceny, while Denver, of course, has the prize scandal (see p. 262).

What's wrong with the police? With a majority, nothing. Many policemen bring genuine zeal to what is at best an ill-paid and disagreeable job. But a sizable minority are crooks, and apparently the minority is growing. The causes are, of course, various; most go back to the indifference of the community generally. This in turn is connected with crookedness in high places. When, as David Brinkley asserts, some 200 gamblers and gangsters live in houses costing in excess of $100,000 — and usually between $200,000 and $300,000 — it can be only through alliances with respectable persons high in civic and financial circles. The corruption of the police is hardly more than a symptom of a larger corruption. A cure is impossible until the whole community, and especially the well-heeled strata, adopt a civic standard far higher than the present one.

Declaration of Non-War

Despite strong prompting by the Department of Justice, Senator John McClellan and an influential section of the press, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, meeting last week in New York, declined to declare war on the exiled Teamsters Union. Especially marked have been the anti-Hoffa steps taken by the Administration in Washington. On the same day that James Lukens, who had served as co-chairman of a Citizens for Kennedy dinner in 1960, announced the disaffiliation of Local 98 from the Teamsters, Robert Kennedy revealed the appointment of Lukens' brother, Tom, as a Special Assistant Attorney General. And the timing of the Justice Department's announcement of the reindictment of Hoffa in Florida on mail-fraud charges was certainly not intended to facilitate the readmision of the Teamsters to the AFL-CIO.

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In the face of these pressures, all that the federation council did in New York was to reassert President Meany's power (which he has always had) to grant "federal" charters to local groups that may decide to leave the Teamsters. But the council refused to set up a new AFL-CIO drivers' union to rival Hoffa's; this would have been a declaration of war, and Walter Reuther firmly opposed any such move. The council refused, also, to call upon the "oppressed" Teamsters to throw off the shackles imposed upon them by Hoffa. In the face of the fact that three numerically powerful unions — the Transport Workers, the National Maritime Union and the Steel Workers — appeared to favor readmitting the Teamsters to the federation, the council clearly did not want to provoke a new clash with the Teamsters chief.

Nevertheless, the general eagerness to "get" Hoffa is such that the non-action of the council was widely interpreted as a new blow at him. On the contrary, the council's resolution, given the circumstances, was cautious and circumspect.

A Government of Laws

The U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 960, is titled "Expedition against friendly nation," and reads: "Whoever, within the United States, knowingly begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States is at peace, shall be fined not more than $3,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both."

Of course, in what is now known — even in the Kennedy Administration — as "the Cuban fiasco," the government itself violated its own code. The law makes no exception for a foreign prince or state that the United States does not approve of; all that is necessary for proof of violation is that the United States should be technically at peace with that prince or state. It may be that the Kennedy Administration has learned its lesson. But has it? According to Associated Press and Chicago *Daily News* dispatches from Miami, "The Cuban Revolutionary Council, generally conceded to have the support of the Kennedy Administration," is planning to set up an anti-Castro government on Cuban soil. Miro Cardona is quoted as saying: "Soon, very soon, Cubans will be fighting together to administer the final blow to the dictator." And Miro Cardona should know: he is in and out of the White House. Another item comes from Dr. Raul Roa, the Cuban Foreign Minister. Dr. Roa complained in the United Nations that the United States was continuing to train mercenaries and smuggle arms and explosives into Cuba to commit acts of terrorism. The charge was denied by Adlai Stevenson, but then, last April, Mr. Stevenson denied that the United States had anything to do with the Cuban-American invasion which took place at that time.

Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General of the United States, is sworn to uphold the laws, including Title 18, Section 960 of the U.S. Code. If he takes his oath seriously, he should be looking into these reports. If he does not take his oath seriously, he should not remain Attorney General. The Kennedy Administration and the United States have sustained quite enough damage in the earlier Cuban episode. Let us not have another, or anything resembling it.

THE UNEASY AUTO TRUCE

REBELLION in the FACTORY . . *by B. J. Widick*

Detroit

MUCH HAS BEEN written about the middle-class outlook of the American worker outside his factory — in his home, in his attitude toward society in general and politics in particular. But apparently it has never occurred to these writer-sociologists that perhaps the blue-collar worker has developed middle-class attitudes *inside* his factory, too — like wanting a coffee break and decent working conditions generally.

That is why the American public was shocked at the spectacle of thousands of General Motors workers going out on strike *after* all paycheck issues had seemingly been settled. That is why the Ford strike, which followed hard upon the heels of the GM walkout, was equally difficult to understand.

Yet there have been ample warnings of the new directions that the perennial rebellion of the American worker is taking. Two examples from the last two years of labor history should suffice: the steel strike of 1959, wherein the principal issue was not money but work rules; and the part that work rules — which largely govern working conditions in the local plant — played in the protracted railroad negotiations.

There is still another ghost which sits at the negotiating boards of every major industry — automa-

B. J. WIDICK, who has written extensively on labor problems, is co-author, with Irving Howe, of The UAW and Walter Reuther.

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tion. It is a ghost which frightens every worker in every plant, the more so because he sees no immediate chance of exorcising it. It makes him all the more determined to get the things he thinks he has a chance of getting.

It is the great weakness of this year's auto settlements that neither the United Auto Workers nor the auto companies faced up to the automation issue squarely; and until it is faced, and solutions are forged, hopes for real labor peace in this industry, and in others, must remain dim.

THIS YEAR'S GM walkout shows even more clearly the new directions of the workers' rebellion. And it shows, equally clearly, that in turning into new paths, the worker will walk over his own union leadership, when he feels it necessary to do so.

Negotiators for the UAW and GM, sitting together, fairly quickly settled the "big package" — the economic questions — at issue. What were left were the so-called "local issues," involving work rules and working conditions in the various plants. They didn't seem very important until one added them up: 15,000 different unsettled demands by rank-and-file workers all over the GM auto empire. Included were such small but humiliating grievances as procedures to obtain permission to go to the toilet, but also various aspects of issues which dominate the worker's life in the plant: overtime (while unemployment in the industry mounts steadily) and the speed-up.

The top negotiators reached agreement on the major non-economic questions. Then, as a *pro forma* move, the UAW announced a strike deadline for September 10 in the full expectation that this would expedite settlement at plant levels in enough plants to avoid a nation-wide walkout.

At this point, the negotiations appeared to have gotten over the hump. The first walkouts were estimated as "mostly blowing off steam."

Secretary of Labor Goldberg assured the public that an over-all settlement would be reached in two days. UAW leaders apparently agreed, for they scheduled a meeting of their General Motors National Council for Tuesday, September 12, to approve the new contract. When the meeting was postponed, it became evident that the strikes could not be ended. It was not until a week later that local union leaders were called to meet in Detroit, and during that week most of the plants made some settlement based on the new national agreement.

The GM Council meeting added another surprise. A motion to accept the economic package was quickly approved, but the delegates refused to call off the strike until all plants had reached agreement. (Reuther and his associates had argued that with a majority of GM locals having settled their local issues, all should return to work and negotiate afterward.) Reuther thereupon called into session the Executive Board of the union, which vetoed the decision of the GM Council. The significance of the Council revolt certainly did not go unheeded by the corporation.

GM quickly accepted a Reuther proposal for top negotiators to join with local negotiators in resolving the "local issues." Within several days the local agreements were concluded with the exception of one dissident local, and the strike was ordered ended September 24.

THE ECONOMIC settlement which GM reached with the UAW will give the worker an approximate 7-cents-per-hour increase for each of the next three years, plus about 4.7 cents per hour for fringe benefits. (GM is to set aside the 4.7 cents in the first year; the workers will get the benefit of this amount over the three years.) Thus the total money cost to GM will be about 26 cents per hour.

Approximately the same money settlements were agreed to at Ford and at American Motors. How cheaply the companies got off is illustrated by the fact that early this year Ford gave its top executives bonuses totaling $32.6 million, the equivalent of a 13-cents-per-hour boost for every Ford worker for a year. But under the settlement, the Ford worker won 26 cents spread over *three* years. Ford spent more on bonuses to its top executives than it did for raises to its workers — and so did GM.

Hopes that a Ford settlement would quickly follow that at GM were illusory. Some Ford workers were disappointed when the GM strike was called off; to them it signified the limitations of the kind of struggle Reuther was willing to conduct over working conditions. Militant local leaders wanted to better the GM contract at Ford — some of the things GM workers won were already in practice at Ford. But Ford negotiators were determined "not to give GM a competitive advantage," especially in the area of production standards. Verbosity on both sides was mistaken for belligerency, and a strike deadline turned from a formality into the reality. The unwanted strike at Ford occurred. The truth is that Reuther was sitting on the same keg of dynamite on local issues in Ford as he was in GM, and the strike forced both sides to look at those problems.

The thorniest spot of all — Chrysler — was left for last. There, labor relations have deteriorated the most, the problems are the most complex, and satisfactory solutions the least likely. The UAW has stated it would not "subsidize the incompetence" in Chrysler management; that is, settle for less with Chrysler than with GM or Ford. But in the past the UAW has eased up on marginal producers. Is Chrysler in that shape now? Decentralization, automation and sales losses over recent years have reduced the Chrysler work force to less than half. And Chrysler workers have never forgotten the erosion in their working conditions down to the harsh standards at GM and Ford. "Chrysler used to be a good place to work," is what Auto Workers in Detroit say.

LAST winter the Auto Workers held a series of regional hearings on the most sensitive issue of all: work standards in the auto plants. Under the chairmanship of Emil Mazey, UAW secretary-treasurer, a committee listened to the endless tales of speed-ups on the assembly line — the issue that perhaps more than any other gave impetus to the unionization of the auto industry. The work-

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ers, as novelist Harvey Swados wrote in *The Nation* of August 17, 1957, were "sick of being pushed around by harried foremen (themselves more pitied than hated), sick of working like blinkered donkeys, sick of being dependent for their livelihood on a maniacal production merchandising set-up, sick of working in a place where there was no spot to relax during the twelve-minute rest period." Even Reuther, who in 1958 dismissed the *Nation* article as "exaggerated," recently referred to General Motors as a "gold-plated sweatshop."

THE INCREASING dissatisfaction among the workers was reflected in the many upheavals in the 1961 local union elections. To quote a top UAW official, "the highest turnover of local union officers in the history of our union took place. The rank and file couldn't get at us, so they took it out on the local union boys."

The special collective-bargaining convention of the UAW held in April, 1961, and attended by over 2,500 delegates, did nothing to allay the anxieties of the ranks. Rather, their unrest was heightened by the economic analysis presented by Reuther. Motor vehicle output rose from 4.8 million in 1947 to 7.9 million in 1960, Reuther reported, while the number of production workers dropped from 648,000 to 612,000. That meant production had increased by 64.7 per cent while employment was declining by 5.7 per cent. Increased automation, of course, was primarily responsible for the remarkable increase in production per man. Buttressing these statistics was the picket line of unemployed workers outside the convention hall. Detroit, the automotive capital of the world, has been an area of substantial unemployment since 1956.

In marked contrast is the phenomenal profit record of General Motors. In 1960, GM profit per worker was $6,046. The corporation's pricing formula is designed over the years to yield a 20 per cent after-tax return on investment, with only 180 days' production annually. Moreover, the mood of the Auto Workers was not improved by *Fortune's* report that one auto executive had complained he could barely make ends meet on $180,000 a year. *Forbes* magazine, in its June 15, 1961, issue, noted:

> Does anybody have some good ideas on how to put $1 billion to work profitably? If so, Frederic G. Donner, chairman of General Motors, would be glad to hear from him. Currently, General Motors treasury is all but overflowing with cash and government bonds to the tune of $1.6 billion. Of this, a probable billion is surplus cash by any ordinary standards.

Obviously, GM could not effectively argue inability to pay, when contract negotiations opened, and it was too sensitive to its weakness politically to adopt a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude toward the union. The Kennedy Administration was in a position to exert some not so subtle pressure if the corporation deliberately provoked a nasty strike. Currently, three federal grand juries are

investigating charges that GM is violating the Sherman Antitrust Act (the company has been found guilty of similar charges in the past).

For GM policy makers, the only sensible position to adopt at the bargaining table was to determine what its minimum cost would be for a settlement. And what GM offered, of course, would influence what Ford and Chrysler would place before the union bargainers. A management united front with a peace-at-minimum-cost policy seemed evident.

UAW's restraint in negotiations gave further indication that a peaceful settlement was likely. No flamboyant Reuther plans were unveiled to dazzle the public, excite the ranks and confuse the companies. The UAW was aggressive in depicting the sorry contradiction between the lot of the workers and the wealth of the industry, but was slow to raise "must" demands. It became increasingly clear that limits had been placed on Reuther, as well as on the companies, in the 1961 negotiations, partly in the form of insistence by the Kennedy Administration on a "non-inflationary" settlement. Further, Reuther's close sense of identification with the Kennedy team made it unlikely that he would provoke a struggle that might become an embarrassment to a burdened President in a critical world situation.

THE American Motors Company settlement (which turned out to be temporary) before the contract expiration date of September 2 did not set a pattern for the big companies, but it did provide an example for a fringe-benefit improvement package at the Big Three. The maverick president of American Motors, George Romney, and his shrewd industrial-relations vice president, Ed Cushman, offered the union a plan difficult not to accept: a mild form of the profit-sharing plan Reuther had espoused and then dropped in 1958.

Stripped of the rhetoric accompanying the reports of the journalists who interpreted the agreement in the press, the American Motors pact was more a method for payment of extra fringe benefits than a plan to make every AMC worker a stockholder in an "every man a capitalist" scheme. The essence of the plan is that after setting aside profits equal to 10 per cent of the company's net worth, the hourly rated workers will receive an equity equal to 15 per cent of the remaining profits before taxes, the equity to be divided as follows: two-thirds to go into a "progress-sharing" fund for improving fringe benefits, and one-third to be placed in AMC stock held in the name of each worker who qualifies with seniority. Aside from this, the company agreed to a continuation of the annual wage improvement factor of 6 cents minimum or 2½ per cent, whichever is greater, and to the continuation of the "escalator" clause. Among the fringe-benefit improvements in the contract are fully paid medical-hospital insurance (instead of half-payment) by the company, and some pension improvements. In some

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cases the company must pay a penalty for a shorter work week, guaranteeing compensation at the rate of 65 per cent of a worker's regular hourly pay for each hour he is denied work up to 40 hours a week. Supplemental unemployment benefit payments were made somewhat higher.

In return, the company obtained firm commitments to carry out policies calculated to reduce certain "excess" labor costs. AMC also got a hard "management's rights" clause which excludes the UAW from making proposals to management on how it should run its business (including proposals on pricing policies; UAW has been making proposals of this kind to all auto companies).

The cost to AMC of the total fringe benefits and stock-buying is estimated at about 8-10 cents per hour, if the company has a good year. In case sales and profits don't fulfill Romney's expectations, AMC is protected by a clause that gives it the right to divert annual improvement payments in the future into the fringe-benefit funds.

The subsequent rejection of the pact by the big Kenosha local was not a case of "shooting Santa Claus" disguised as profit-sharing. The Auto Workers didn't want to give up superior working conditions for the plan. There was also much suspicion about profit-sharing in line with the traditional labor attitude toward such schemes. A UAW analysis in 1949, as an example, said: "What's wrong with profit-sharing plans? They undermine purchasing power when you need purchasing power most; they make workers pay for company mistakes; and they don't work." The fact that the 1958 Reuther profit-sharing proposals were not even mentioned this year as a possible demand suggests the UAW leadership had some second thoughts over its 1958 proposal.

THE UAW and the auto companies faced two different paths in recent negotiations. They could have faced squarely up to the challenge of what the UAW has called the Second Industrial Revolution, i.e., the impact of automation. This would have meant working toward a shorter work week. A reduction of the work week to thirty-six hours — as feasible in auto as it has been in rubber — would have created 60,000 additional jobs. Even the elimination of overtime would have provided more employment: at GM, the company worked so much overtime in 1960 that it could have provided 27,400 full-time jobs for unemployed, experienced workers.

The unpleasant fact is that the UAW and the companies chose instead to confine themselves to improvement of fringe benefits — providing aspirins to alleviate the pains of job amputation imposed by automation. No one would argue seriously against alleviating the pain. But the point is to stave off the amputation. It was Walter Reuther who said this spring that the time was past when Band-Aids could patch up the American economy. Major surgery is necessary, including a National Planning Agency. One might well ask: Why doesn't the same criteria for boldness apply in the field of collective bargaining?

COPS AS ROBBERS . . *by Roscoe Fleming*

Denver

But who, asked Juvenal, will guard the guardians?

In the old days, police corruption was a relatively simple matter. The cop on the beat helped himself to free lunch and fruit, shook down the professional gambler, the madam and the after-hours saloonkeeper, dividing his gains with the precinct captain. This was the classic pattern; upon it has been built the highly sophisticated pattern of shakedowns and rake-offs described by Fred J. Cook in "The Shame of New York."

But in some American cities a new, more blatant form of police corruption has developed. Denver, to its chagrin, offers the most dramatic current lesson.

ROSCOE FLEMING is a Denver newspaper man.

For the last several years the Queen City of the Rockies, which had long prided itself on clean government, has been sinking steadily into a morass of crime. Faltering local attempts to remedy matters failed, and Mayor Richard Batterton, under pressure from the press and the public, was at last forced to ask the Governor to intervene. Vigorous Governor Stephen L. R. McNichols quickly named A. S. Reeder, a former FBI agent, to investigate. Within a month, the Governor called a press conference. To it were bidden, besides newsmen and photographers, a group of youthful, clean-cut men who looked more like graduate students, or young business executives, than policemen.

But when the conference ended, it was these clean-cut young men who were loaded into a police van, taken to headquarters, relieved of their badges and other insignia, fingerprinted, mugged and charged with burglary and other felonies. The Governor reported that thirty-five policemen in all, plus the civilian brother of one of them, were implicated in a series of burglaries which, up to that point, had already reached 120 and could climb to more.

Since then, the Governor has announced that eight more policemen will be charged. As of this date, sixteen of those implicated have pleaded guilty and two more have entered "no contest" pleas. In addition, six policemen who were arrested before the latest roundup have been convicted and are in prison.

Adding all defendants together—convicted, charged and to be charged —it seems that more than 5 per cent of Denver's police force stand accused of theft or criminal actions of one kind or another. And the

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community expects further revelations in the coming weeks.

EARLY IN 1960, two Denver police officers chased a car fleeing from a coffee shop; during the chase, a safe fell out of the first automobile. John D. Bates, one of the pursuing patrolmen, recognized the two men in the fugitive car as Arthur Winstanley, a brother police officer, and a man named Eugene Haas, a county deputy. Bates and his partner permitted the fugitives to leave, but returned the safe to its owner. Subsequently Bates informed his superiors of the incident, identifying the suspects by name, and supplying the names of a dozen other policemen whom he thought were burglarizing the community regularly.

His superiors put Bates on sick leave with orders to see a psychiatrist. The psychiatrist, however, reported that there was nothing wrong with his patient, who was perfectly capable of telling the truth.

Winstanley was then arrested, but Safety Manager John Schooley told the city via TV that there was no information at all about a "dozen officers" being involved in thefts. And Mayor Batterton added: "In any group of 750 people, you are likely to turn up a bad apple or two."

Subsequently, Haas was also arrested, and he and Winstanley are now in prison. (Winstanley, aged twenty-five, is reported to have been interested only in "girls and cars" at high school. At eighteen, he married a high school classmate and then, in attempts to support a growing family, knocked around at several low-paying jobs until he landed on the Denver police force.)

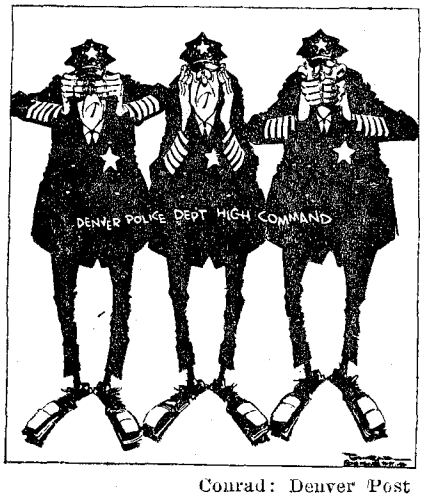
Winstanley and Haas "sang" after their convictions, and a grand jury indicted seven more policemen for a series of burglaries (including a $7,600-safeblowing job at a Denver restaurant a year earlier). Meanwhile Bates, as the original witness against Winstanley and Haas, went into hiding across the state line. There followed inconclusive investigations and moves to restore police efficiency and morale. Then, in June of this year, came another blow-up.

Police of a suburban village, tipped off by a mysterious informant, hid in a suburban supermarket on the night of June 29. While they waited, three men cut through the roof, dropped to the floor and got to work on the safe (they used chilled milk from the refrigerator to cool their power-saw). Arrested red-handed, all three turned out to be Denver policemen. Said one, in explanation: "I went along because I wanted to be a good Joe and not get anyone else into trouble." Said another, "They [his senior officers] told me they'd give me a poor mark if I don't go along."

A few days later Robert Roberts, former FBI man and sheriff of the county in which the burglary took place, was arrested and charged with planning the crime and acting as a lookout. As of today, all three of Denver's suburban county sheriffs have come under fire from grand juries for various types of alleged irregularities.

The city began to look questioningly at its higher police personnel. Police Chief James Childers, forty-five years on the Denver force, resigned "for reasons of health." No one suspects Childers of complicity in what has been going on; there is only the feeling that he was an old-fashioned cop who couldn't cope with the new-fashioned crooks on his force.

Nobody knows exactly how much money Denver's guardians of the law have stolen from the citizens who pay their salaries. They've pulled "so many jobs," according to Governor McNichols, "that [they] have forgotten some of the places and/or the amounts received." However, conservative estimates put the total at a minimum of $250,000. One safecracking job alone — in a South Denver supermarket — netted between $35,000 and $40,000. The Governor, at his press conference, told a remarkable story of how these crooked cops operated, with what ingenuity they exploited their positions on the police force to safeguard themselves against capture.



Conrad: Denver Post

"In most instances," the Governor said, "a Denver police car on duty would meet the safe-burglar gang three to six blocks away from the actual scene. Here the necessary tools and equipment were transferred from the private cars to the police car. This, in turn, would transport the safe burglars to the scene and stand by as cover during the burglary.

"OFTEN the organizer of the crime would enter the building and maintain flashlight contact with the covering police car. In many instances it was arranged for a second police car to be stationed about a block away, and in a location where flashlight signals could be exchanged.

"By this means the outside police cars were in excellent position to ward off civilian investigation, or to head off any inquisitive persons.

"This incredible criminal incest was spawned some years ago, and became operative in the South Denver area by a group of policemen assigned there. Numerous burglaries and safe-cracking jobs were successfully performed.

"By virtue of certain interdepartmental transfers of personnel from the South Denver area three or four years ago, this police gang was split up, and the members were transferred to the downtown district and other areas of the city.

"Immediately new cells of crooked cops were formed around these old hands at the criminal game, and new members were recruited by the use of payoffs and splits of loot.

"A high degree of efficiency was attained by these gangs to the extent that one safe job was reported to have been completely executed in seventeen minutes. In most instances, policemen together with their burglar tools were delivered and picked up with police cars, and

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the lookouts were uniformed police. Many locations were 'cased' in police cars.

"In most cases, the same officers who pulled the jobs investigated their own robberies and removed incriminating evidence from the scene of the crime. Payoffs were made to officers stationed in the territories where the jobs were pulled.

"An elaborate system of payoff was designed, and when coupled with guaranteed protection from accessories or superiors, gave the perpetrators an almost fool-proof racket that produced many thousands of dollars.

"In addition, the police cars, equipped with two-way radio, would immediately be notified should the [police] dispatcher broadcast a silent alarm about this particular location. If such an alarm were broadcast, the police cars would immediately go to the burglarized building and remove the safe burglars before the arrival of additional and apparently legitimate police officers.

"Some burglaries took as long as three or four hours to complete, and many times the burglars left the building in broad daylight, and yet went undetected because of the presence of other police cars as lookouts."

The Governor said that imitative police gangs, relatively unorganized and inexperienced, grew up within each district, "like the springing up of suburban areas around a metropolitan city." At first these gangs would merely practice normal burglary that didn't involve safes, he said. But as they got more experienced, they'd tackle safes, at first by punching and peeling them. When a safe proved too tough to be cracked by these methods, they'd sometimes call on the more experienced police for more sophisticated help.

They'd act as lookouts for the more experienced safe burglars when the latter invaded the local district, and by this on-the-job training would acquire the skill to set up on their own.

The situation in Denver, of course, is not unique. Chicago and other cities have had their quota of safe-cracking policemen. Crime of this kind finds a natural habitat in the metropolis, where only too often the jurisdictions of law-enforcement agencies overlap so confusingly that self-policing by the police is impossible. Half of metropolitan Denver's population lives in three counties and a score of municipalities outside the core city. The jurisdictions of county sheriffs, town police, city police give limited authority to each agency and effective over-all authority to none.

Governor McNichols' investigation continues. He has already indicated his belief that new state legislation, perhaps even amendmends to the state constitution, may be necessary to cope with the situation. Jealous city administrations, and a state population which is by tradition averse to state police authority, won't like this. But they can hardly like what is now going on any better.

THE SPACE GIVEAWAY

Public Benefit vs. Private Privilege . . *Dallas W. Smythe*

Communications-satellite systems, when perfected, will create a revolutionary new frontier in world communications, with potential earning power that may run into billions of dollars annually. The struggle for ownership and control of these systems is already under way in the United States. Last week, Mr. Smythe gave the factual background to the struggle; in this concluding article, he defines precisely the economic, social and political issues involved.

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THE FIRST indications of possible government policy on ownership and control of communications satellites were *ex parte* and *ex cathedra* statements which repeated the public-relations "line" of the Bell System.

In October, 1960, the Administrator of NASA in a speech said: "Traditionally, communications services in this country have been provided by privately financed carriers competing with one another to serve the public interest under federal controls and regulations. There seems to be no reason to change that policy with the advent of communications satellites."

The Bell System had originally proposed that it be given exclusive advantage during the winter of 1960-61 by asking the FCC for permission to start commercial service trials of space communications linking this country, the United Kingdom and Western Europe — including telephone, TV and data-transmission service. This proposal, which was a request for the assignment of non-common-carrier frequencies in an allocation proceeding, was denied on the ground that it would interfere with the disposition of other issues, but the FCC obligingly suggested "experimentation" on common-carrier frequencies which it provided Bell for this purpose.

IN THE spring of 1961, communications-satellite systems of different types were in research-and-development stages. Just which system would be most efficient and economical was not known. The relation *in operation* of the military-owned systems to others which might be devoted to civilian uses was not defined. Given the fact that the satellites would have vast political and foreign-policy significance, it was premature to freeze them in the mold

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of organization which had grown up around ocean cables. The advent of the new Administration provided an opening for new points of view as to how communications satellites should be organized for operational purposes. This opening was seized by some of the companies which were active in space research and development, but which were not presently communications common carriers. Lockheed Aircraft Corporation suggested that the proper organizational form was a "common carriers' carrier" — i.e., a new company to own and operate the communications satellites, the company to be jointly owned in turn by manufacturers of satellite hardware and the major communications common carriers. General Electric created a subsidiary, Communications Satellites, Inc., with the same end in view. Meanwhile, small-business interests became vocal on the subject. Antitrust concern was aroused in the Department of Justice and in Congress. And the issue of private ownership was caught up in the pressure process which is our national government.

THE INITIATIVE, tactically, was retained by the Bell System and the common carriers. And it focused on the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC, under its new chairman, Newton Minow, has espoused the public rather than the private interest in its policy on broadcasting. But with regard to communications satellites, it is shocking to find that Minow has been at one with his industry-minded colleagues. In the words of Commissioner Craven, FCC spokesman before the Senate Committee on Small Business in August:

> The Commission's efforts . . . are based upon the conviction that satellite communications will and should take its place within the framework of our private-enterprise system, under which public communication facilities are owned and operated by private companies subject to government regulations. This conviction is consistent with Congressional policy expressed in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

This appeal to the Communications Act of 1934 approaches the frivolous, for while the Act *permits* private operation of communications carriers, it does not *prescribe* it. It would be equally valid to argue the opposite: by remaining silent on the ownership of the then-known means of communications, Congress reserved a free hand for itself with respect to new techniques such as the satellites.

Regarding communications satellites "primarily as another means of relaying long-distance communication" (the point of view urged by the Bell System), Commissioner Craven testified that the FCC, on March 29, had instituted a formal inquiry, soliciting views from the industry as to the best method for international common carriers to participate in the ownership of a satellite system. General Electric and General Telephone and Electronics tried in vain to get the ownership base of what the commission quickly came to call the "consortium" broadened to include space industries like themselves. In its "first report" in Docket 14024, the FCC held that participation should be limited to the common carriers (which effectively means the Bell System, RCA, International Telephone and Telegraph and Western Union).

The Nation has received the following note from Dallas W. Smythe concerning a statement he made in his first article, which appeared last week:

"In referring to ECHO-type satellites, I noted that, having no orbited receiving equipment, they will 'accept' any signals beamed to them. The inference might be that such a disadvantage does not inhere in the 'active' satellites. I am advised that the low-altitude 'active' satellites, as presently planned, also may accept any signals beamed to them on the correct frequency. While the same might be true of synchronous satellites like ADVENT, the latter may be equipped with anti-jamming devices, etc., which will permit them to accept only signals intended for them.

"Generally speaking, the conclusion I drew remains correct: tight discipline on an international scale in the use of communications satellites seems inevitable."

The commission's bias toward serving the carriers' rather than the public interest was openly displayed in this report. Referring to the "interested carriers" as "acting under the aegis [aegis — n. a shield or protection: *Webster's Abbreviated Dictionary*] of the Commission" — a term also used by A.T.T. spokesmen — it announced meetings for the perfection of a plan for this consortium in a report which held that "the international carriers themselves are logically the ones best qualified to determine the nature and extent of the facilities best suited to their needs." The report also stated that the FCC sought to avoid "disrupting operational patterns that have been established in the international common carrier industry." The commission was aware that the carriers ran the danger of violating the antitrust laws and tried to protect them with its "aegis." On July 21, in announcing that it had held a meeting of the "Ad Hoc Carrier Committee" some time earlier, the commission gave this explanation:

> The Commission recognized that additional information with respect to the organization and operation of any such joint venture was required before its feasibility and efficacy could be properly assessed, and that such information could best be afforded by the submission into the record of this proceeding of a concrete plan formulated by the interested common carriers. We also recognized that such a concrete proposal could not be formulated without those carriers engaging in discussions among themselves; but that such discussions would possibly engender charge of antitrust violations. Accordingly, we called the meeting of June 5 to consider plans and procedures whereunder such discussions and planning could go forward with propriety.

In a second notice of July 21, the commission announced its procedure for the creation of the consortium. It would provide an officer to preside at all discussions of the Ad Hoc Carrier Committee. Such discussions would be conducted in strict adherence to an agenda approved in advance by the commission; the agenda, however, would be initially formulated by the committee. Participa-

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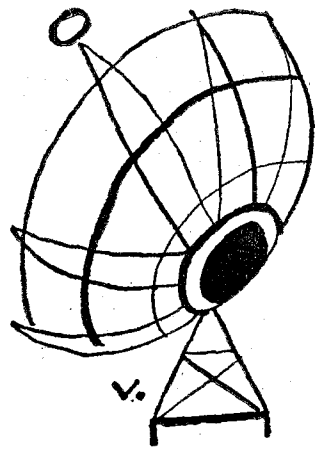
tion in discussion by other government agencies would be at the discretion of the committee.

Responding to steadily mounting protest against the prospect of monopoly emerging from the servile role of the FCC, the National Aeronautics and Space Council considered communications-satellite policy, at the request of the President. The report of the space council then emerged as a statement of Presidential policy on July 24. Private ownership and operation of the U.S. portion of communications-satellite systems was "favored" (note that the term was not "mandatory"), provided that it could meet eight "requirements":

(1) New and expanded international communications services be made available at the earliest practicable date;
(2) Make the system global in coverage so as to provide efficient communication service throughout the whole world as soon as technically feasible, including service where individual portions of the coverage are not profitable;
(3) Provide opportunities for foreign participation through ownership or otherwise, in the communications-satellite system;
(4) Non-discriminatory use of, and equitable access to, the system by present and future authorized communications carriers;
(5) Effective competition, such as competitive bidding, in the acquisition of equipment used in the system;
(6) Structure of ownership or control which will assure maximum possible competition;
(7) Full compliance with antitrust legislation and with the regulatory controls of the Government;
(8) Development of an economical system, the benefits of which will be reflected in overseas communications rates.

In his statement, the President wisely emphasized that the present status of the program, both civil and military, is that of research and development and that to date, no arrangements between government and private industry contain any commitments as to an operations system. The statement concluded with the expression of a desire that "development of this new technology to



bring the farthest corner of the globe within reach by voice and visual communication, fairly and equitably available for use, proceed with all possible promptness."

While the Presidential statement of July 24 imposed responsibility for compliance with its terms on the space council, the FCC has continued to stage-manage the creation of a monopoly which in effect is the merger Congress has repeatedly refused to sanction. In its supplemental notice of inquiry of July 21, the commission stated conditions which, it contends, implement the Presidential policy statement, but which, on their face, substantially erode the plain meaning of the President's words. Thus the crucial second condition, calling for global service as soon as *technically* possible — even to areas where service would be unprofitable — is reduced in the FCC "conditions" to "A commercially operable communications-satellite system will be expected to provide the *potential* means for global coverage" (emphasis added). "Potential" is a weasel word which would fit perfectly the typical private monopoly's preferred policy of skimming the cream from the most profitable markets while deferring indefinitely service to the unprofitable. A second obvious reduction is the transformation of the fourth Presidential condition, which calls for non-discriminatory use and equitable access to the system for present and future common carriers. In the FCC version, this condition is limited by the language ". . . for the purpose of obtaining communications facilities in the system *to serve overseas points* with the types of services for which they may be licensed or authorized by the Commission." (Emphasis added.) The limitation to overseas service is clearly intended to protect the Bell System monopoly of domestic telephone service from the threatened inroads by the General Telephone and Electronics Corporation and others.

UNANSWERED are a number of important questions, many of which have not been sternly put as yet. Many of these questions never were satisfactorily answered in previous Senate consideration of the proposed merger of the international common carriers. Who is to set the terms on which proprietorship of the consortium is to be allocated? The present carriers? With other industrial groups added? Or ultimately, the government? If securities are to be sold to the public by the consortium (as some carriers and others have advocated), is the government in effect guaranteeing the capital and a return thereon through its role in creating the consortium?

Who is to protect against wrong decisions on technology (e.g., if a superior technique existing outside the consortium is rejected in favor of an inferior technique owned inside the consortium)? Who is going to insure that newcomers to the business of conducting communications will have open access to the consortium?

Who is to have the authority to make decisions for the consortium—the corporate participants or, ultimately, the government? Chairman Minow, testifying before the House Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee on June 14, said that the FCC would be in a "constant supervisory position," as also would be NASA and the Department of Justice. Are these agencies equipped to discharge this kind of administrative responsibility in a specialized technical area such as communications satellites? But in the same testimony, Chairman Minow *also* said that decisions ultimately would be made by the private companies. Who will make the decisions?

As the supervisory role to which the FCC aspires is a management

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function, how can the FCC serve both in this role and as regulator? Is there not a hopeless confusion of roles involved in the consortium? Is, in fact, the real role of the FCC in the consortium one of advocate and agent for the private companies rather than representation of an independent public concern? Finally, in view of the intimate intermixture of private and government influence in the creation and prospective operation of the consortium, in just what respect is this scheme "private enterprise" of a "traditional" sort, as the Bell System propaganda characterizes it? Is the whole thing not simply a device by which private interests may obtain profits from the use of public agencies and public money in the operation of a technology which itself is impossible of reduction to private property? Is it not a new and much more offensive Dixon-Yates?

ARGUMENTATION by the proponents of private ownership runs in familiar terms and may be summarized quickly from recent testimony by the Bell System. Satellites offer Bell another way to render service. The responsibility for establishment, ownership and operation of these "additional common carrier facilities" should be placed where it belongs — with the carriers responsible to the public for service. This is consistent with long-standing U.S. policy which places responsibility for efficient public communications on privately owned common carriers under public regulation. No government subsidy would be required under this system (ignoring the billions of dollars which make the communications satellites possible through space research and development). Competition would be preserved, as the communications satellites would be available to all. Private ownership will take advantage of the carriers' experience in working with communications agencies in foreign countries. No carrier would dominate the system and ownership of the satellite should be based on the volume of traffic (Chairman Minow estimated that 90 per cent of the volume would be Bell System traffic). The Federal Communications Commission will protect the public interest through regulation. (How a *national* regulatory agency can regulate an *international* operation partly owned and conducted by foreign *entities* is not explained; even in conventional cable and radio communication, it has never been effective.) Chairman Brooks of the House Committee on Sciences and Astronautics urges speed in getting the system into operation and says: "I think it would be a serious mistake to squabble about the niceties of legal ownership."

For the opponents of private privilege, the arguments are more varied. Thirty-five members of Congress, including Senators Humphrey, Kefauver and Morse, in a joint letter to the President on August 24, urged that we do not at present know which system can be put into use first, nor which system will be most efficient once in orbit. Given this technological uncertainty, the complicated question of ownership and control is even more uncertain. Prudence, they argue, requires a further investigation of the broadest aspects of the ownership question, unimpeded by premature decision as to ownership. During the developmental period, all possible speed should be made while careful study is given to the question of ultimate control. It is pointed out by others that, as far as speed being related to ownership is concerned, our military ranks communications satellites as of high urgency, yet the military system being built under contract by private industry will be publicly owned. If speed for defense use of communications satellites is best served by public ownership, the same must also be true of the less urgent civilian uses.

The thirty-five Congressmen support the eight conditions set forth in the Presidential policy statement and condemn the FCC's efforts to create the consortium as "contrary to the policy established by you; they [also] are contrary to the principles of the antitrust laws." The consortium, they say, would be intolerable from the standpoint of the public interest, quoting the Department of Justice as considering the opportunity to favor purchases of equipment produced by the Bell System's subsidiary, Western Electric, to be irresistible. They also quote the head of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice as testifying that "the degree of concentration in this field may very well be one of the reasons why America is not further advanced in the field today than it is. . . . Our system has not produced as it should, and the public interest has suffered because there has been undue concentration in this field." If private ownership is preferred to public, the communications-satellite system must afford all interested U.S. communications common carriers, *domestic as well as international*, opportunity to participate in the system, and must afford all interested communications and aerospace manufacturers a parallel opportunity. Otherwise, they warn the President, the plan would be in direct violation of the antitrust laws and would require special legislation from Congress. They add that no Executive order or decree of any agency can override the antitrust laws.

The thirty-five Congressmen see the ramifications of this remarkable system as likely to be truly revolutionary. An awareness that our understanding of the implications of the new technology is likely to lag behind developments themselves leads them to urge that no decisions concerning ultimate control be made until the entire system becomes fully operational.

NO CONTRACTS, decisions or acts which may prejudice the ultimate decision should be permitted in the interim. During this period the Congress should be allowed to exercise its Constitutional responsibility to supervise activities of federal agencies regulating foreign and domestic commerce. Also during this period, all possible questions of international agreements, cooperation, control and ownership related to other nations and the U.N. should be thoroughly explored.

A drum-fire of critical statements supports these attacks on the monopolistic drive of the Bell System. That redoubtable organization currently says little publicly, relying on

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its immense political influence on Capitol Hill as well as in the administrative agencies. Of the latter, the Bell System clings closest to *its* chosen instrument, the FCC, to work its will with communications satellites. A prognosis of the outcome of the debate is now premature. What is certain, however, is that the consequences of the ultimate decision will be far-reaching, not only on our national communications policy and our giant corporations, but on foreign relations and — ultimately — on the possibility of a peaceful world.

The large issue is whether the trademark of our hugest monopoly and its policies is to represent the people of the United States in the first practical use of our space effort — in the sensitive area of communicating information, attitudes and feelings among the peoples of the world. In traditional terms, will the forces working for public benefit or those self-confessedly "dedicated" to private privilege prevail?

THAW ON DISARMAMENT . . *by Frederick Kuh*

United Nations

FOR YEARS the Soviets have appeared as persuasive exponents of peace and disarmament. But many delegates here are asking whether the Russians are losing interest in disarmament now that the United States is showing a greater concern for it.

Despite this year's increase in the U.S. military budget and the retention of troops who would normally have returned to civilian life, the Kennedy Administration has taken important initiatives for a test-ban treaty and has presented a more realistic disarmament program.

On nuclear testing, suddenly it is Moscow which refuses to negotiate a separate treaty and insists that the prohibition of nuclear trial explosions shall come about at the end of the whole disarmament process—meaning perhaps never. And in continuously reaffirming the demand for general and complete disarmament, the Russians declare there shall be total control and supervision only *after* total disarmament is attained. Some experts suspect the Soviets are offering even less inspection in the interim than they were formerly prepared to concede.

Why?

There is solid reason for believing that the Soviet leaders planned months ago to break the nuclear-test truce because it provided for too much inspection to suit their appetite. President Kennedy was wise to resist efforts not only by the Soviets, but also by the Pentagon and Atomic Energy Commission, to goad him into resuming the tests after his inauguration. He would have been wiser yet if he had delayed resumption further while the Soviets were hauled on the carpet at the U.N. Assembly as the sole breakers of the test moratorium.

In their defiant renewal of testing on September 1, the Russians almost certainly were impelled primarily by a military motive. They presumably think they are ahead in the arms race and want to clinch their lead. They might do this by a new departure in the use of outer space for military purposes, or in producing an anti-missile device.

If the Soviets are less in earnest regarding disarmament, this could also be in part because they are looking far ahead to a possible challenge from China.

DESPITE these and other negative factors—some of them emanating from the Western powers—diplomats here believe conditions are being created for loosening the fifteen-year-old log-jam in disarmament negotiations. There is no Utopian talk of swift agreement. Indeed, there is a prevailing defeatism. And there is also the old school—still quite modern—which insists that an improved political climate is essential before governments will strip themselves of their armed forces.

Specialists in and around the U.N., less inclined to indulge in such generalities, have been looking at concrete developments. What they see has given them modest, very modest, encouragement notwithstanding the wretched state of East-West relations.

As far as arms limitation goes, they expect nothing from the present session of the Assembly, which will last until just before Christmas. They predict that the 100-nation body will adopt a resolution calling anew for a permanent ban on nuclear tests and for resumed parleys among the nuclear powers to that end. They think the same powers can, within the foreseeable future, conclude a treaty forbidding the transfer to non-nuclear nations of control over nuclear weapons. The Western Allies have in mind withholding Soviet nuclear arms from Communist China; the Soviet bloc seeks to deny nuclear armaments to West Germany.

Although formidable differences remain, the United States and the Soviet Union have moved nearer to each other on basic principles of disarmament.

Some American officials are now privately admitting that for years the United States disarmament proposals amounted to a big dose of inspection with only a few drops of disarmament. That has changed. And in the related nuclear-test-ban problem, last March and again in August the West made meaningful concessions to the Soviets:

¶The United States and Britain offered to reduce the number of on-site inspections to twelve to twenty annually on Soviet territory (they had previously insisted on twenty as a minimum).

¶They accepted parity on the

FREDERICK KUH is covering the U.N. Assembly for the Chicago Sun-Times.

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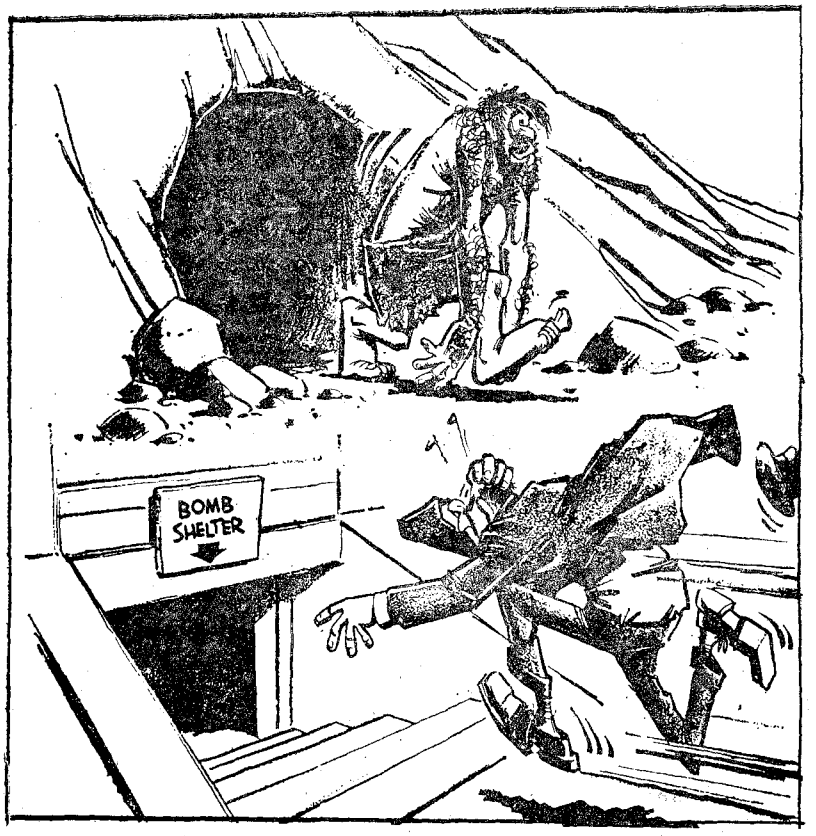
number of citizens of the inspected territory who will serve on the inspection teams.

¶They agreed to a treaty article allowing removal of the administrator of the entire test-ban system by any seven votes on the eleven-man Control Commission.

Besides these concessions on a test-suspension pact, the United States took long strides toward an accord on general disarmament. Under previous American administrations, complete disarmament had been mentioned as a distant goal; under Kennedy, it has become part of an uninterrupted program.

What made this possible?

For the first time, the United States and Russia, on September 21, announced agreement on a set of broad principles for disarmament. One of the points on which they are in accord is that in a disarmed world, international peace-keeping machinery is necessary. Furthermore, the Soviets broke fresh ground by agreeing that before advancing from one disarmament stage to the next, the powers concerned must be satisfied that the previous stage has been accomplished and that machinery exists for going ahead to the following phase. Encouraged by this understanding, the United States took another step forward by including in Stage One some real disarmament measures that would cut down war-making capability.



Conrad in the Denver Post

The Epic of Man

AS INDIVIDUAL U.S. officials now concede, heretofore America was putting its strongest accent on controls rather than on disarmament. The United States had proposed a limit of 2.5 million men for the American and Soviet armed forces. As each of these powers had less than that number under arms, the suggested ceiling was a joke in poor taste; it would, in fact, have meant a rise rather than a diminution of troop strength. The U.S. had demanded inspectors at radar and missile-launching sites, but this too was just another piece of supervision without disarmament.

Earlier American programs had favored cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons use, but without curtailing stockpiles or limiting output of nuclear armaments from available stocks.

Three weeks ago the United States improved these earlier proposals:

¶It would open the first stage of disarmament by lowering the limit for American and Soviet armed forces to 2.1 million each instead of 2.5 million. (The Russians are still urging a 1.7 million maximum for the first stage.)

¶It is now proposed that in the first stage there shall be discussion and agreement on actual reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and of vehicles to deliver them.

¶The United States proposes—again for the first time—a ban on transfer of control over nuclear weapons and of nuclear know-how to non-nuclear countries, meaning Germany and Red China. (Ireland originated this suggestion at last year's U.N. Assembly.)

¶Besides repeating its earlier proposal for halting production of fissionable materials for military purposes, the United States has now agreed to the reduction and eventual elimination of stockpiles of such materials in the second stage of disarmament. In former American plans, this did not come until the end of the third and final stage.

The Soviets have also yielded some points. In the joint American-Soviet statement of principles of September 21, they made three concessions:

¶They agreed that each stage of a disarmament program could be put into force separately and without awaiting complete accord on total disarmament.

¶During the 1959 session of the U.N. Assembly, Nikita Khrushchev set a four-year limit to the fulfillment of the plan for general disarmament. The Russians have now dropped the time limit for over-all disarmament, agreeing in principle with the United States that there shall be a fixed period for completing each stage.

¶The Soviets explicitly concur that the disarmament program is to be accompanied by establishment of peace-keeping machinery and by creation of an international peace force.

ALTHOUGH America and the Soviets have thus come some distance

(Continued on page 275)

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Great Shibboleth

FREEDOM: PROMISE AND MENACE. By Scott Nearing. Social Science Institute, Harborside, Maine. 202 pp. $3.50.

Carl Dreher

I HAVE looked on Scott Nearing only once, and never talked to him. Soon after he was dismissed from the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania as an obstinate heretic, he lectured to a public audience in the auditorium of the Morris High School in the Bronx. I was a college student in that audience. It was shortly before World War I, while Teddy Roosevelt was tearing up and down the country, whooping it up for "preparedness." The gravamen of Nearing's heresy was that he opposed the war and took a hostile view of capitalism generally. Had it not been for these exceptions, he might have lived out his days as a respected professor, and none of us would ever have heard of him.

Nearing persisted in his contumacy, has lived long, and is still speaking his mind. Somewhat like Charles A. Beard, he had to make adjustments. Beard was a bigger name, too prominent to be cast into limbo, but he too chose freedom. He operated a dairy farm in Connecticut and wrote his books. Nearing had to go as far as Vermont, where he made maple sirup and wrote and lectured when and where he could. His experience proves that in those years a man as able and determined as he, if he was willing to forego the "good things of life" on the level commanded by semi-skilled factory workers, could live a free life: i.e., say in public the things he thought in private. And without having to serve time for contempt of Congress. This last freedom, however, accrued to Nearing in the recent past only because he was getting along in years when the witch hunt was at its height and because (through no fault of his) he never really jeopardized the *status quo*.

THIS BOOK of Nearing's represents nine years of work and sets forth the best thought on a subject which, from ancient times, has preoccupied the best minds. Adding his own ideas, Nearing is sometimes at too great pains to make himself clearly understood, as when, explaining that he is not free to drive in a populated area at sixty miles per hour, he rams the point home by citing his obligation to refrain from throwing rocks through his neighbor's windows (except to warn him in a dire emergency) or (at any time) trampling on his shrubbery, burning down his garage or torturing his children. Nearing is platitudinous often enough to annoy his admirers, but oftener he is enlightening and wryly amusing, as when he describes, dead-pan, the task of educators, conditioned and paid by the Establishment, to defend it by fair means or foul in an ant-hill school where the child is taught that he lives in the best of countries, for which he must be prepared to die (and gladly) after seventeen summers.

Nearing's chief contribution, it seems to me, is his dispassionate and scholarly debunking of the notion that freedom is the *summum bonum* of human existence. The West laid hold of this gimmick in the propaganda contest with the Socialist bloc; one can only say that if this is the best the West can do, it must be in desperate straits. It is certainly desirable to have as much freedom as possible under given circumstances, and idealism or honest fanaticism ("Give me liberty or give me death!") is always to be respected. But as much cannot be said for the undefined, inchoate, sleazy slogans propagated by the "freedom-loving" nations, partners of such lovers of freedom as Franco, Ngo Dinh Diem, Salazar or the lately departed Syngman Rhee.

In view of these associations and existing internal instabilities, it is understandable that the democracies would as soon leave freedom undefined, just as the Soviet bloc prefers not to be specific about democracy. But the matter cannot be allowed to rest there. It is the job of the radical and liberal to ask: freedom for what, for whom, how put into practice? Freedom to open a hot-dog stand? Freedom to bust unions by "right to work" laws? Freedom for the satisfied to express their satisfaction, or freedom for the dissatisfied to express their dissatisfaction without losing their jobs or going to jail? Freedom to avoid income taxes with a depletion allowance of 27.5 per cent and to threaten the consumers with higher prices if the allowance is lowered? Freedom to vote for either of two parties with a single devotion to the *status quo?* Freedom to label as subversive all demands for relief from exploitation? Freedom to buy U.N. votes with foreign aid? These are samples of the uses of freedom in abstraction, within and among nations.

Freedom is not a simple thing. It is tied up with all the circumstances and conflicts of life. It is always coupled with restraint. To treat it in isolation, as an end in itself, is to render it devoid of meaning and make it an instrument of political deceit.

The world might be more impressed

CARL DREHER is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

The 23rd Psalm

(A "translation")

In the tunnel now
and yet
as the train bursts out
into the occasional opening
there the valley below is green
and the mountain waters run cool and blue and deep
away into the distance,
and a man and a dog stare
silently at the train as the sheep pick their sustenance
among barren rocks.
Thus is He. His care
thus follows after me
as we rattle into the darkness.
There they always are and I shall find them again and again
until
***there* it is I live and the tunnel and the train are gone**
and I sit down with him in his lost cottage under the hill.

Michael Shayer

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if the United States talked about freedom less and practiced it more. By taking our inherited Constitutional freedoms for granted, we have already lost much of their content and narrowed the gap between capitalist democracy and Socialist authoritarianism. The common man's political self-respect, without which political freedom is not viable, has been eroded by the techniques of persuasion and the fact that business interests habitually say one thing and do another. Propaganda does not convince people, it merely makes them apathetic. Nearing, quoting Eric Fromm, suggests that there may be an actual desire to escape from freedom. Even if we do not go so far, the disparity between American pretensions and actuality is often grotesque.

NEARING regards the current pressures for conformity as partly the result of technological development and growth in the size and complexity of the industrial machine. The tendency is reinforced by the political instability of power-age society, the omnipotence of modern weapons, and the East-West power struggle. Discoveries and inventions, increasing geometrically, disrupt life patterns of groups and individuals. The threat of apocalyptic war hangs over the nations. Outside the Socialist bloc rising taxes, inflation and mounting debt, coupled with recurrent recessions and the certainty of depression if armament spending should cease to sustain the American economy, have added to the omnipresent anxiety. The Communist bloc, of course, has its own stresses, discontents and forced conformities. Its advantage is that it does not need armaments to keep its work force fully employed, and that it is moving under the dynamism of a recent revolution and a centrally directed technology.

The leaders of the "free world" ignore its restrictions and compulsions as blandly as the Communist managers gloss over the compulsions and sacrifices they impose on their own populations. The Communists are able to get away with it because of the secret police and because they project a sufficiently convincing vision of future beatitude. The capitalists are able to get away with their brand of intimidation because they have more goods at their disposal, for the present, and can give the underlying strata a more comfortable life here and now, while restricting production in their immemorial manner and keeping a disproportionate share for themselves.

On neither side do the controllers feel it necessary or advisable to grant freedom of action or expression to the mass of common men, nor do the common men demand it. The capitalist leaders have much the better apparatus for keeping their subjects in line. Among the uneducated and unsophisticated they have a captive audience; among those who know better, a largely acquiescent one. The Communists are under the necessity of resorting to overt physical and spiritual suppression.

The hope that the Russian masses will rise on that account is the stuff that dreams are made of. The Russian revolution was directed against the freedom of the Czarist regime to exploit the Russian masses, with the further aim of finding a solution for the evils of capitalist industrialism by Socialist (and eventually Communist) forms of organization. The Russian people are now ruled by another elite and dissent is proscribed even more harshly than in capitalist America, but the new elite is able, mobile and progressive. The Russians are not only proud of their achievements; they also feel they have gained enough, and still have enough to gain, so that insurrection is as far from their thoughts as it is in the West.

CAPITALISM does possess one advantage which was important at the outset and is so still, but its weight is likely to diminish. Capitalism has emphasized a particular species of freedom from its beginning, when the emerging business class struggled against feudal restrictions and obstructions. Capitalists, now as then, are driven to accumulate personal fortunes. West Germany is a current example: it may soon rival Texas as an incubator of millionaires. Accumulation may be the result of prodigies of administration, production and innovation, but freedom as capitalists construe it is the *sine qua non* of affluence. And gigantic accumulation has an intense attraction for many among the unsuccessful as well as for the few who have what it takes to be wealthy.

In contrast, the aim of Socialists and Communists is "to work together on projects that will raise the standard of well-being by promoting the . . . general welfare." This is *their* freedom, a form repugnant to the capitalist ethos and indeed, by its criteria, the very antithesis of freedom. Socialism is a system that, as Matthew Josephson wrote many years ago, "demands self-denial, self-sacrifice, responsibility without commensurate reward, new habits of cooperation and discipline," while capitalism he defined as the easier way, the way of sin.

The way of socialism is even harder than we thought. Social salvation attained is not a settled state. The capitalist virus has never left the Socialist body, and the tumorous growth of bureaucracy is a danger at every stage of development. That such growths occur and must be excised from time to time is not a discovery of the detractors of socialism, who hate it not for its faults but for its virtues. Socialists are only too painfully aware of the problem, and the more so when they come to

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power and must cope with it in the flesh.

Since Nearing is an American, it is scarcely likely that he will see socialism close-up in his remaining years. But he knows the difference between necessary restraints and bureaucratic tyranny, whether the bureaucrats are employed by private corporations or the state. Human freedom in an advanced technological civilization, he writes, is contingent on an established cultural pattern, affording a high degree of social stability and security, and a well-integrated division of labor. But a fourth social base is essential: "eternal watchfulness on the part of individuals, and coordinated group effort to maintain efficiency, keep bureaucracy to a minimum, exclude nepotism and other forms of favoritism, to eliminate corruption, to preserve widespread personal interest in the social apparatus and to maintain a high level of social consciousness and a keen sense of social responsibility." Whether in the Soviet Union or the United States, that is a large order!

Freedom: Promise and Menace is equipped with a useful appendage which has become rarer as commercial publishers have become more affluent. It has an index. But then Nearing is his own publisher, as well as his own author.

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How Universal Is Education?

EDUCATION AND INCOME. By Patricia Cayo Sexton. The Viking Press. 298 pp. $6.

Mary J. Herrick

A FLURRY of recent books on the problems of public schools in urban areas has included several which are only shallow samplings of sensational situations. Mrs. Sexton, however, has made a factual case study, in depth, of the correlation between economic status and academic achievement in the entire school system of a major city. Two hundred and sixty-three elementary and seventeen high school districts were classified according to the average income levels of families living in each district, and census and community data, as well as school records, checked according to school district. The districts were then grouped according to twenty-six income levels, and finally into four large groups. Charts based on school records show average I.Qs, general school achievement, reading skills, truancy, school delinquency, health condition, number of drop-outs and length of stay in a given school. Other tables indicate class sizes, extent of half-day shifts, age of buildings, size and equipment of playground areas, provision for free milk and lunch rooms, and modern educational equipment. Data are given on the length of service of individual teachers, the average proportion of substitute to regular teachers and the membership and effectiveness of parent organizations. The carefully documented tables also indicate the proportion of homes receiving some form of public assistance, proportion of juvenile court cases in the area to school enrollment, death rates and population density. In each table, with minor variations, the figures on desirable achievement go up as income rises.

Mrs. Sexton acknowledges the occasional experiments in effect in several cities to mitigate the general dreariness of schools for children in low-income urban areas; but she believes that no city school system is making any broad effort to adapt the life and program of its schools to the needs of children whose parents are culturally underprivileged, functionally illiterate and, in great numbers, recent migrants from deprived rural areas.

She questions the general public acceptance of a school I.Q. record as the basis for classifying children for school opportunity. Since the tests most commonly used measure cultural experience and frequently do not measure native ability, there is a startling correlation between family income and average I.Q. She cites the wide range of authorities who minimize such tests as the chief means of recognizing human potential and who feel that the present reliance upon them results in an enormous leakage of the human resources of our society.

SHE points to a wry anomoly: Boards of Education, while failing to provide extra aids to stimulate children from economically deprived homes by increasing educational equipment, assigning highly skilled teachers and widening opportunities to see, hear and become a part of the general culture, are at the same time providing in every city precisely these aids to the so-called gifted children, almost all of whom come from homes in the higher economic brackets. Classes of no more than twenty-five, specially chosen teachers, extra trips and special equipment are now taken for granted for "gifted" children, at a sharply increased per capita cost, while the children who most need such stimulation, some of whom also have a high range of ability, if not a record of high performance, actually

MARY J. HERRICK, formerly a high school social science teacher, is vice president of the American Federation of Teachers.

The Afterwake

Nursing your nerves to rest
I've roused my own; well,
now for a few bad hours!
Sleep sees you behind closed doors.
Alone, I slump in his front parlor.
You're safe inside. Good. But I'm like
a midwife who at dawn
has all in order: bloodstains
washed up, the teapot on the stove,
and starts her five miles home
walking, the birthyell still
exploding in her head.

Yes, I'm with her now: here's
the streaked and livid road
edged with shut houses
breathing night out and in.
Legs tight with fatigue,
we move under morning's coal-blue star
colossal as this load
of unexpired purpose, which drains
slowly, till scissors
of cockcrow snip the air.

Adrienne Rich

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are having less money per capita spent on them.

Negroes are not the only group apt to be in the low income category in American cities today, but they comprise the largest group. Mrs. Sexton's study recognizes the impact of segregation on children's desire to learn, and of race prejudice as a deterrent to change. The foreword by Professor Kenneth Clark of Columbia University underlines this factor.

The book concludes with a list of constructive suggestions which are financially possible for urban systems. Reduction in class size, more individual guidance, concentration on reading skills, work study projects, supervised study and early information on vocational opportunities, a warm and friendly atmosphere in a school, not a coolly superior one — these are not new suggestions. But nowhere are they seriously followed in a whole school system. Nowhere is interest in such a program a criterion for choice of school board members.

The schools of urban United States are not developing to the full the abilities of the children whom they serve. Mrs. Sexton's study presents some of the causes and solutions of this problem in sharp concrete factual outline.

LETTER from ASSISI

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

IT HAS BEEN said that revolutions break out after the economic curve has reached the bottom of depression and has just started to climb again. Let us hope, by analogy, that the many vigorous manifestations for peace, taking place all over Europe, indicate that the war danger over Berlin, the Congo, atomic tests and the crisis in the U. N., has just passed its critical point, and that we are really on the way out and up again.

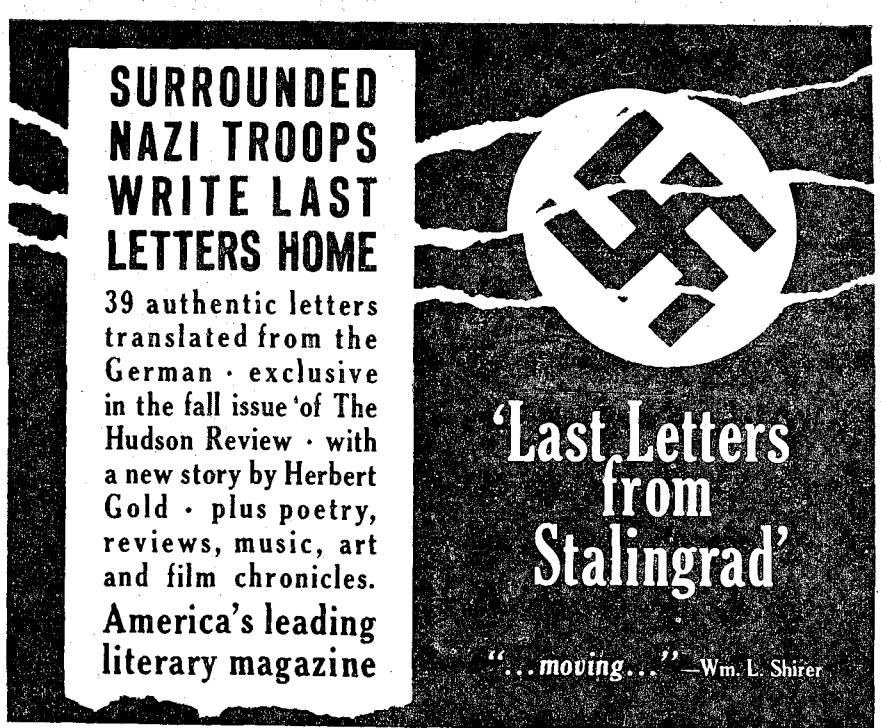
Thus it is useless to try to assess the direct influence on Italian politics of a mass rally of the kind I witnessed late last month at Assisi. But, apart from any such direct influence, the gathering —which lasted practically all day, drawing a crowd of 20,000 to 30,000 people from all over the nation—may serve as a gauge of the nation's mood, and not this nation's alone.

The initiative had been taken by a national committee of sponsors under the leadership of Professor Aldo Capitini, founder and director of the Center for Non-Violence at Perugia, of strictly Gandhian inspiration. The program: a March of Peace, from Perugia to Assisi. Twenty miles of road.

Chartered buses, loaded trains and streams of cars and motor scooters began to pour into the splendid hill town of Perugia, to inundate the square in front of St. Pietro's, early in the morning. They came from Rome, from Florence, from Bologna, Pisa and Livorno, and dozens of other centers, nearer and farther; and there was a good sprinkling of foreigners too. All age groups were represented, and all social strata. There were university professors, writers, artists, parliamentarians, and very simple folk; there were Socialists, Communists, Catholics, radicals and liberals. The marchers represented a real cross section of the nation.

A most varied and instructive spectacle was offered by the hand-painted posters the various groups were carrying. Some protested against war and violence in general; others expressed solidarity with Bertrand Russell, called for general disarmament, demonstrated against atomic experiments. "We want to live for Italy, not die for Berlin," one said. Another group was evidently inspired by Socialist ideas. "Spend the money, now spent on armaments, on agrarian reforms! On higher pensions! On houses and education!" A good many were anti-Fascist, with slogans like "Never more" painted over a crossed-out swastika. Or they clamored for the end of racial discrimination.

SURPRISINGLY, many attacked the problem of imperialism. Signs demanding "Algeria for the Algerians," "Freedom for Angola," were riding high over many a group. "If Negroes have black skins, imperialists have black hearts" was inscribed on one of the banners. A portrait of Lumumba was solemnly carried by two students all through the tiring march. Not far behind, a coy little lady, disheveled, sandal-shod, and somewhat skimpy in appearance, half-waved, half-hid a poster saying, "We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ELISABETH MANN BORGESE is the author most recently of a collection of short stories, To Whom It May Concern (*George Braziller*).

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are ashamed to be whites." A tall, blond-bearded Teutonic-looking figure in shirt-sleeves raised his poster somewhat higher than the others. "A German student from Munich desires peace," it stated quite simply. And a group of young people, with knapsacks and smiling eyes, were sitting around one who played the guitar. They sang, under a sign that said: "Please don't kill us, very kindly, we are quite capable of dying by ourselves."

There was a large detachment of police, on foot and motorized. It was not needed, for the crowd was peaceful to the marrow of its bones, and self-disciplined to a remarkable degree. So the police merely added another color to the many colors, more numbers to the great number composing the procession. I saw one policeman, a veteran of the last war, evidently, with a handless stump emerging from the sleeve of his smart white uniform, who was busily taking snapshots of this crowd. He hoped, maybe, that thanks to them, and others like them, his son could grow up with both hands, in a world without war.

THE SUN was high, burning hot on this unseasonably summery September day, when the column, a couple of miles long, started on the dusty road winding down from Perugia. In front, the well-known writers Italo Calvino and Giovanni Arpino carried the emblem: "March of Brotherhood and Peace." When, after a good many miles of marching under the scorching sun, the two got tired, the emblem was taken over by two youths representing the Jewish community, then by Communists; last by an English girl and an American Negro.

We left Perugia later by car, passed the marchers during their lunch hour at Santa Maria degli Angeli, and watched, from the height of Assisi, the last leg of their march through the hallowed valley that had seen many a pilgrimage before. The color of the heat on the valley and the pale silver-green of the olives merged with the color of the city: stone, roofs, shutters of houses and churches, and the richly wrought rosettes of St. Chiara and St. Francis, seemed all painted with the same gray hue by the brush of time.

And the crowd, crossing this valley and rising through the narrow streets in silence, the crowd wanting peace and a decent life, seemed as timeless as the setting.

"It would be difficult to add with words to the solemnity of the occasion," the painter Renato Guttuso said when he climbed the rostrum on the "Prato della Rocca," the meadow stretching under the old fortress, on the hilltop above Assisi that now was turning pink under the setting sun. It was on this meadow that the procession halted for the concluding ceremony.

In fact, all the speeches were short. In addition to Guttuso and Capitini, the speakers were: a representative of the Commune of Assisi; C. A. Jemolo, a Catholic leader and great jurist; a Japanese student; Guido Piovene, the author; and Ernesto Rossi, a liberal economist. Canon Lewis Collins and Florence's saintly Mayor Lapira had sent telegrams of solidarity which were read at the opening of the meeting.

The speakers all insisted on the absolute necessity of peace and they tried to lay down the basis on which this peace must be established: total disarmament, the end of colonialism, the end of fascism in any of its forms in any country, and the development of the democratic process all over the world. These principles were embodied in a resolution, spelling out a good many details regarding Italy, which was passed by acclamation at the close.

ART

Max Kozloff

BERNARD REDER'S sculpture at the Whitney produces a multitude of clashing and bewildering, but vivid, impressions. If I were pressed to define his work, I might come up with the mad image of Lipschitz combined with Lachaise, an image which pales before the actual sculptures, but is at least a tribute to their improbability. This rather uncanny sculptor, born in an Austrian town which is at present Ukrainian, has been for some time a resident of the world. Just as he has worked in Havana and Prague, Florence and Paris, so too his art is incurably hybrid, reflecting in its cosmopolitanism the disparate centers he has visited — not simply in their artistic traditions, but often in their ethnical and historical ones as well. What is one to make of a sculpture that evokes, casually and simultaneously, reminiscences of Hasidism and Crete, the Italian Renaissance, Russian folk art, Renoir, Maillol, Cubism? And, if we throw in the models of Reder's architectural projects, a dash of Buckminster Fuller and science fiction, too?

MAX KOZLOFF is a painter, critic and art historian. He teaches at New York University, Washington Square.

The answer comes in a protean sense of fantasy which completely overmasters its own sources. Swarming on every floor of the Whitney, Reder's work has somewhat the effect of a great Picasso show: a powerful individuality thriving on derivations so flagrant that in any lesser hand they would have flown apart into the chaos of eclecticism. In fact, Reder's intelligence seems to delight in testing itself against its own borrowings, knowing its triumph in advance. Rather than assimilating his imagery into our world, we find ourselves drawn into Reder's, as if it were the works of art, not the spectators, which enjoy a real animation. The sculptor accomplishes all this, not arrogantly, but with a most winning nonchalance. Whether they saw away on cellos, clang their cymbals, blow their horns or engage in activities still more preposterous, these bronze personages remain entirely unaware of an outside presence. One is even made to feel like an intruder upon some primordial ritual, full of sound, but hardly fury.

EVERYONE has been quick to recognize the festive atmosphere at the Whitney, but there is more to it than that. In the case of the finest pieces, it is impossible to react as uninhibitedly as Reder himself does when he flings out his gestures from a sculptural matrix. (In distinction to his earlier work where the forms huddle over one another, and have a totally different content.) The underlying figuration of his recent sculpture is physically as positive as an eruption of fireworks, but what the whole Reder menagerie actually celebrates remains unspecified. Then, too, his elephantine nudes lack any sexual appeal, which only draws attention to the sensuousness with which their energy is ejaculated into the wax. His surface ripples, producing light and shade, do not conceal a love for conceptual antitheses: fascination for stability versus instabil-

An Architecture

Like a room, the clear stanza
of birdsong opens among the noises
of motors and breakfasts.

Among the light's beginnings,
lifting broken grey of the night's
end, the bird hastens to his song

as to a place, a room commenced
at the end of sleep. Around
him his singing is entire.

Wendell Berry

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ity, the geometrically closed form opposed to the amorphous open one, a delight in lifting up ponderous masses, and weighting down slighter ones. These contradictions inspire admiration for his unconcern with the riskiness of it all, and, as in the superb *Noah's Wife Carrying Two Owls*, produce a kind of gentle fierceness which both arms and disarms the spectator.

If a Reder sculpture never resolves itself clearly within an altogether Apollonian or Dionysiac frame of reference, it is perhaps because his is such a contrary temperament. He insists, for example, that a great many of his creatures be possessed by an absolutely hushed, serene, durable interior force, while at the same time they must abandon themselves to contortions that utterly defy gravity and anatomy. Not for nothing is his favorite theme metamorphosis — by which he effects, and even rationalizes, the illogic of his impulses. A cat sprouts flowers; a tree grows a horse; a woman's head turns into a cabbage. It quite recalls the magical animism of the early Near Eastern cultures. But the more immediate associations are with the Baroque, when sculpture constantly tried to break through its own limits. Reder, it seems to me, attempts to be faithful to an inner enchantment while, with his unpredictable mutations, he violates the discreteness of space and time that are requirements of his medium. Most of the outward textures of the Reder cosmology, indeed, are rumpled to show, not the transience of a sudden light effect, or the deformations of arrested movements, but that they are charged by his hand, and are hence in a bodily state of creation. The astonishing thing about the whole show is the way it suggests the possibility of creaturely change, as if Reder were some Ovid who, with a twist of his thumb, had the power to send an image back into its animal or vegetable condition. Considering the amount of sculpture we have been seeing recently that depends on forces that have worked impersonally on machines or abandoned artifacts, it is a refreshing change to come upon a man who accepts, as vigorously as does Reder, the responsibility of invention in sheer matter.

IT WOULD have been a pleasure, then, to call his retrospective a great achievement. Unfortunately, he is one of those artists cursed with a virtue that depreciates itself and becomes a vice. Here the sculptor's chief enemy, which he can never do without, is his bullish excess. At every turn, errors are to be found. The smaller pieces are too inchoate, and many of the larger ones are illegibly overcomplicated. And when it comes to whimsy, excess is a cruel deceiver. "We were born," Reder once said, "already drunk by fantasy. To drink alcohol would mean for us only to reduce drunkenness by becoming somewhat sober." All too often he sobers up in just this way by converting a spectral idea into a merely inebriated or pixilated one. He forsakes his own inspired lunacy as soon as he becomes conscious of it, and the result in, say, *Harp Player II* can be as distressing as the worst Lord & Taylor papier-mâché Christmas display. Unhappier still, he has a tendency toward a rather vacuous characterization of emotion, so that in the Dumboesque *Wounded Woman, 1943-7*, the intricacy of the stone carving renders a juvenile concept. One has to be reconciled to a kind of stupidity in Reder's human beings which increases in inappropriateness the more he involves himself with the richness of myth and recollection. All his faces strike me as uncomfortably articulated, overbroad approximations which rarely match the subtle wildness of his handling. What one wants from Reder is more of the enigma he got in *The Conquest*, and less of the coy gremlinism as in his *Seated Dwarf with Cat's Cradle*.

Room with Pleasant View of Boneyard

Was it said of her in life that a pair
of robins would
peck delicately at her grave?

The caretaker walks between rows
of streaky tombstones
carrying a black umbrella.

Already the dandelions scattered
among the mounds begin
changing drably into puffballs.

The hair of the dead being barbered
today with a proud,
new — driven by engine! — mower.

Raked into windrows the coppery
elm leaves fill
the footpaths of yesterday.

All winter the gates of the burial
ground were chained
shut, locked. To keep out snow?

Leaning against an elm's shin, the top
half of a broken
gravestone: no vandal like time.

Two dogs playing in sacred grass. One
pauses to salute
a marker with his hooked afterleg.

Fred R. Miller

(*Continued from Page 269*)

toward each other, as the foregoing account indicates, the arms race continues and its end is out of sight.

What are some of the obstacles?

¶The Soviets reject inspection of retained arms and troops and consent only to inspection of weapons to be scrapped and of soldiers to be demobilized. As Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary pointed out, this would mean inspection of, say, 500 military aircraft earmarked for destruction without any means of ascertaining whether another 500, or even 1,000, replacement aircraft are coming off the assembly lines.

¶The first stage of the Soviet disarmament program, say U.S. experts, provides almost entirely for disarmament with scarcely any inspection.

¶Khrushchev's offer of total inspection when total disarmament has been achieved fails to indicate how much supervision there shall be along the road to disarmament.

¶The Soviets are still talking of a *troika*-type control organ, with its built-in veto, to oversee disarmament.

¶Probably the most important obstacle is Moscow's recent insistence that a nuclear-test-ban treaty should be the *result* of disarmament rather than a measure preceding disarmament.

Both sides still disagree about the composition of the forum to which future disarmament negotiations shall be entrusted. But this is not an insuperable difference and is expected to be bridged during the next few months.

And the conclusions to be drawn from all this?

A disarmament agreement still lies at the foot of the rainbow. But the frozen stand which each of the two Great Powers had assumed is beginning to thaw a little. Never until three weeks ago had they come to terms on the fundamental principles on which a disarmament treaty should be founded. Without reading too much into the agreed principles, they do supply an important set of themes which can serve as the point of departure for a new round of negotiation.

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THEATRE

Harold Clurman

IN ITS OWN WAY Harold Pinter's *The Caretaker* (Lyceum Theatre) is a perfect little play. Like the work of Samuel Beckett, it is a terrifying comedy. I mention Beckett, not only because Pinter has acknowledged his indebtedness to the Parisianized Irishman, but because *The Caretaker* is a variation on the Theme that has begun to haunt the stage since the younger men of the theatre began waiting for Godot. This does not mean that Pinter is not an original talent: the specific English accent of his play lends it its own stamp.

I am sure Pinter detests the reading of symbols into *The Caretaker*. It is written with so much raciness, so definite a tang of British weather that one barely notices the degree of the play's abstractness. Its three characters are named Mick, Aston and Davies; the house in West London where the action takes place reeks of the wet, the slovenliness, the mold and decrepitude of many buildings in that neighborhood. And while the play is streaked with humor, it might appear almost meaningless were it not for the ideological patterns it suggests.

The details are graphic and striking enough to be memorably self-sufficient (which is always true in a work of art). Yet they call for interpretation, even if the author were to protest that a particular interpretation, or any interpretation, belied his purpose.

Aston, a strange young man who dwells in a run-down flat in a battered and leaky house, brings home an old derelict named Davies whom he has saved from a beating in a pub where the old man was presumed to be doing some menial job. The old wretch (ever since the war he has been going under an assumed name: Jenkins) is a malodorous grotesque — craven, boastful, aggressive. He hates foreigners (especially blacks) and is lazy and mendacious. Yet he is pitiful in his stupid pride. Aston sees through the sham and invites him to share the disheveled quarters.

Davies shows little gratitude. He begs for new shoes but is not satisfied with any of those offered. He grumbles over the placement of the bed in which he has been put up. He groans and makes ugly sounds in his sleep — keeping his host awake at night. When he learns that his benefactor was once subjected to shock treatment (Aston was committed to a mental hospital because he was a "dreamer"), Davies abuses him for not treating him as well as he should. Davies also turns for help to Aston's brother, Mick, who actually owns the house which he has bought to keep his brother in safety. Mick hardly ever speaks to his brother, though he seems semi-benevolently to watch over him. Unaccountably, Mick toys with and torments old Davies and threatens him when Davies refers to Aston as a "nut." Ultimately, Aston orders the old man to get out: his complaints, his ungratefulness, his dirtiness are insufferable. Then the old beggar cries out: "What am I going to do? Where am I going to go?"

EACH of the three characters seems to dwell in a world apart from the others—and from everything else. They repeat themselves endlessly but never make themselves understood. Each on his own is cruel to the others.

Who are these people? What do they signify? One is not supposed to be entirely sure. But is not Mick, the laconic prankster with his deliberate double talk and barbed mystifications, a kind of godhead — angel and devil in one? May not Aston, crucified for his idealistic dreaminess, be a sort of Christ figure? And could not the curmudgeon Jenkins-Davies, in search of the papers which will identify him and prove who he "really" is, stand for mankind itself? He is asked to be a caretaker, but he has neither aptitude nor appetite for the job. No one knows what his "game" is; the final verdict passed on him in the play is that he must be gotten rid of because he makes "too much noise." The house which he is asked to guard is so run down it is hardly worth the trouble of anyone's care. Aston, who had hoped to make something of it, who tried at any rate to protect the poor, harmless creature whom he has invited to share his digs, now dreams only of building a new shelter of fresh, clean wood — a healthy place somewhere in the nearby premises.

Pinter's refusal to make the play as neatly (or platitudinously) intelligible as this is probably justified. Plays like *The Caretaker* owe some of their fascination to ambiguity. But this ambiguity covers what is inherently a simple — perhaps too simple — design. Hence they disturb without actually moving us. The artistic plan is narrower than it pretends to be; the ambiguity is an unconscious spiritual device whereby the author, uncommitted in his soul in relation to the bewilderment and anguish life causes him, remains congealed in his quandary — a situation which may after all be easier to bear than an outright decision as to how to resolve or change it.

It is a tribute to the talent and value of *The Caretaker* — one of the most representative plays in the contemporary English-language theatre — that it can provoke such thoughts, conjectures and perhaps controversies. I hope at a later date to say more about the whole trend of which this play is a signal instance. It extends beyond the theatre to the other arts and to the life problems and conditions which have produced it.

Almost as remarkable as the play itself is its production under the direction of Donald McWhinnie. He has achieved that rare thing in the theatre: a true marriage of text and performance. Donald Pleasence as Davies is funny, obnoxious, astonishing, mysterious. His manner ranges from the fiercely vulgar to the apocalyptic. (How his voice echoes when he utters his last cry of abandonment!) His flailing gestures, frightening and incoherent, seem to beat the air with nameless yet vehement queries and protestations. The emotional result is awesome rather than tragic or even pathetic — in which respect it partakes of the quality of the play itself. This is true too of Robert Shaw as the play's impotent "redeemer," caught in the vise of a pity that fails to console. There is a coldness in Alan Bates's consummate portrayal of the inexplicably good-bad "landlord" — utterly real in its English impassivity, a kind of muted familiarity which in its unyielding objectivity is as fatal as a god's final judgment. Play and production wound and adhere to one's spirit like the impress of a tattoo.

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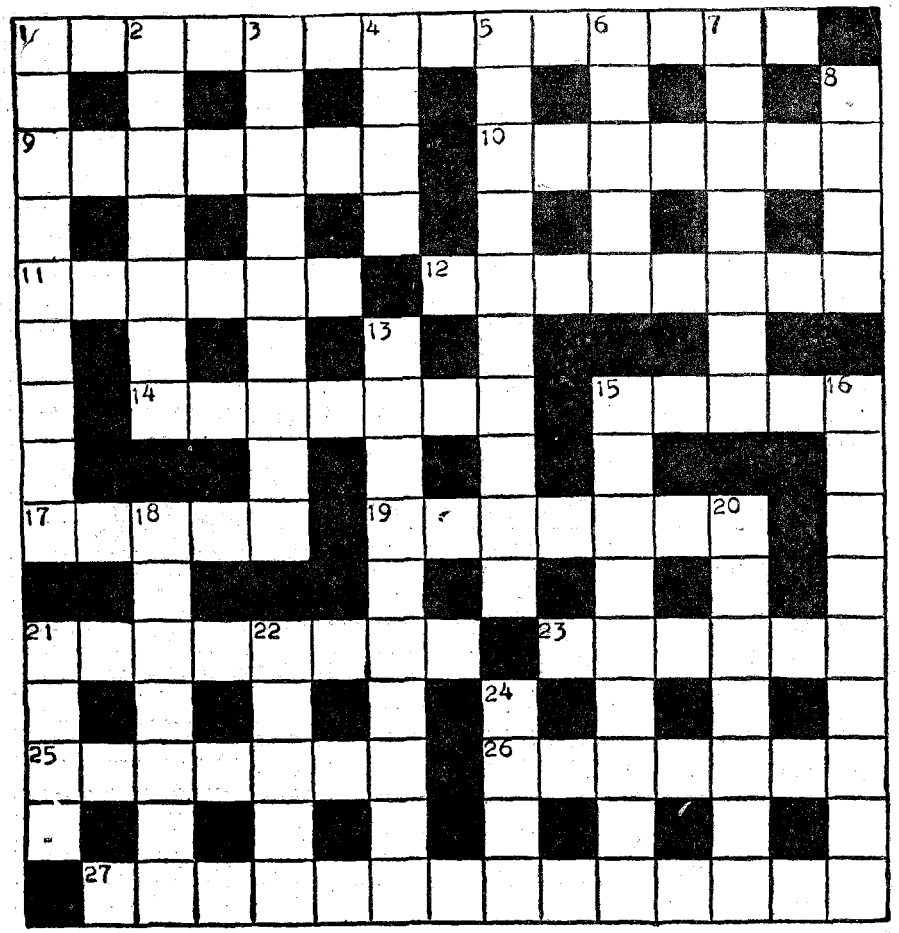
Crossword Puzzle No. 934

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 and 16 down It's evidently not larcenous to give up one exposition for another. (4, 8, 2, 2, 7)
9 Trued up, as it might be generally talked about. (7)
10 Tolerably good for a marine creature to be about a rather odd element for him! (7)
11 Jet. (6)
12 Discharge all the players at home, figuratively? (8)
14 A police technique that should be taken for granted? (7)
15 A support which sounds illegal on the gridiron? (5)
17 The fruit of failure? (5)
19 The way in which the conceited person has got ties knotted? (7)
21 Point to the left of them? (8)
23 Half-way through a gag? (Leaves in the middle to have one each.) (6)
25 Children's rocker? (7)
26 Material to travel with? Check again! (7)
27 Party supporter? (No cutting of classes if you act in such a manner.) (14)

DOWN:

1 Anticipate everything under the greenwood? (9)
2 What did the poet say when his identity was questioned? "Shut up!" (7)
3 "I could be well content To — the lag-end of my life With quiet hours." (Henry IV, Part I) (9)
4 What's the answer? Give up? (4)
5 A bad coin, if flat, can spell trouble. (10)
6 Garb, by the sound of it, to go with dolls. (5)
7 Is a person with a Napoleonic complex likely to sign with one? (7)
8 A rather high-handed foreign politician could be found here. (4)
13 Line report submitted by the uninvited. (10)
15 Associated with Demosthenes or Cicero. (9)
16 See 1 across
18 It easily cuts the confusion in the symbol of authority. (7)
20 Confusion caused by bad spirit in the work environment. (7)
21 Entrants might have to pay Frederic's slavemaster. (4)
22 Thumb's up, to coin a phrase! (5)
24 Worry-work? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 933

ACROSS: 1 Chaperon; 5 Arable; 10 Grouper; 11 and 20 Fair and square; 12 Outgo; 13 Onionskin; 14 and 26 Extramural; 16 Negation; 19 Expenses; 22 Agent; 24 Longitude; 28 Almoner; 29 Astride; 30 Escarp; 31 Stickers. DOWN: 1 Cognomen; 2 Adopt; 3 Espionage; 4 Our Town; 6 Reign; 7 Black Hole; 8 Ending; 9 Offing; 15 Taxonomic; 17 Traumatic; 18 Ateliers; 21 Stewart; 23 Please; 25 Inner; 27 Raise.

PUZZLERS: SEE LETTERS PAGE!

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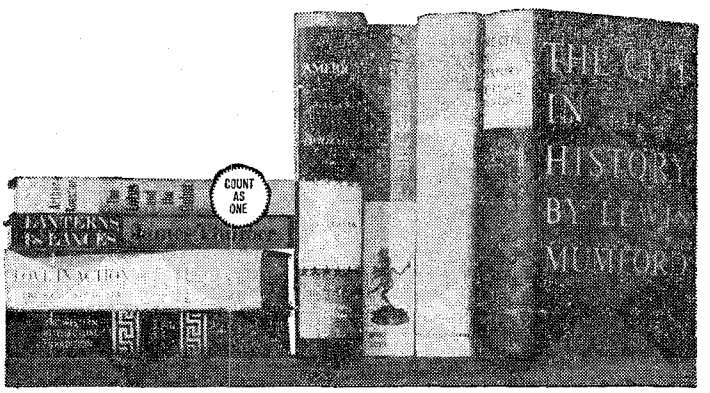

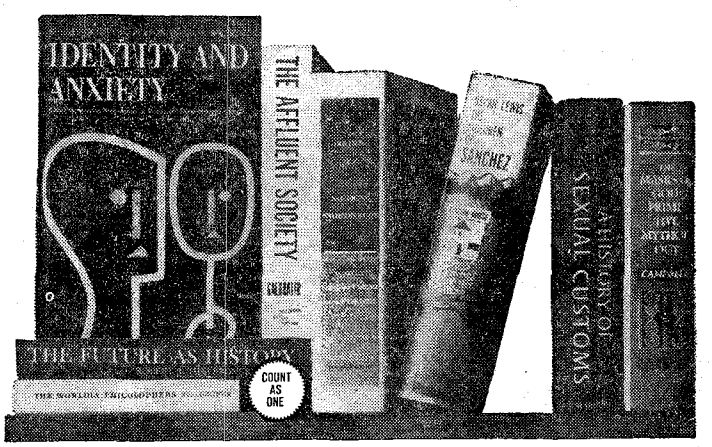

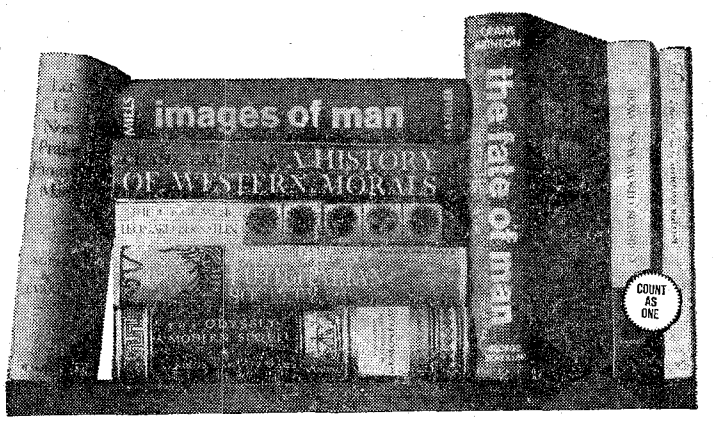

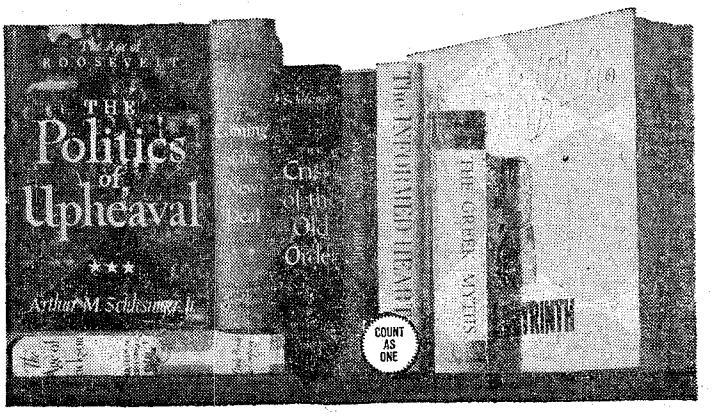

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